

# **MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

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## **HIGH ALTITUDE WARFARE: THE KARGIL CONFLICT AND THE FUTURE**

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The unique combination of thin air, freezing temperatures, and mountainous terrain that forms the high altitude environment has resisted advances in military technology for centuries. The emergence of precision warfare has altered the nature of warfare on most of the world's surface, yet has not significantly changed the conduct of ground combat at high altitudes. The tactics that lead to victory on the high altitude battlefield have remained constant over time. This thesis examines the impact of the high altitude environment on soldiers, their weapons, and military operations, and identifies the lessons of the 1999 Kargil Conflict that are relevant to future high altitude combat. Combat at altitudes approaching 18,000 feet (5,485 m) above sea level between India and Pakistan at Kargil illustrates the timeless nature of high altitude warfare. U.S. combat experiences in the mountains of Afghanistan in 2002 parallel those of the combatants at Kargil, despite the overwhelming technological advantage of U.S. forces. Trained and well-equipped light infantry is the only force capable of decisive maneuver in mountainous terrain. Heavy volumes of responsive firepower, in concert with bold maneuver, determine victory. Artillery, rather than air power, remains the preferred source of firepower to support ground maneuver.

**KEYWORDS:** Kargil, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, High Altitude Warfare

## **FUTURE OF THE U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE: FOUNDATION FOR A MULTILATERAL SECURITY REGIME IN ASIA?**

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The U.S.-Japan Security Alliance was the foundation of the United States' bilateral alliance system during the Cold War. The alliance suffered severe strains in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War primarily due to the loss of its primary mission, containment of Soviet expansion.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, breathed new life into the alliance. Japan quickly joined in the anti-terrorism coalition, providing logistical support to U.S. forces involved in the War on Terrorism. North Korea's October 2002 admission of a covert nuclear weapons program also changed the strategic dynamic for Japan, pushing it towards "normal" nation status.

Multilateralism in Asia developed a life of its own during the 1990s. Numerous multilateral organizations were created to help resolve regional security issues. China is attempting to use multilateral security forums as a means to balance against U.S. regional power. Japan also proposed developing a new multilateral security regime in the Asia-Pacific.

This thesis examines issues related to the future of the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance and the possible emergence of a new multilateral security regime in the Asia-Pacific. The United States should enhance the U.S.-Japan Security and lead the way on developing a new multilateral security regime for the Asia-Pacific.

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**KEYWORDS:** U.S.-Japan Security Alliance, Multilateral Security, U.S.-ROK Security Alliance, ASEAN, ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN+3, People's Republic of China, Republic of Korea, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Russia, United States, Japan, China, South Korea, North Korea

### **THE SINO-RUSSIAN STRATEGIC COOPERATION: PROSPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS**

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As economic, military, and nuclear powers, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China remain two important players in world politics. Despite warmer relations today, Russia and China still do not trust each other and their current partnership is just a marriage of convenience. Three decades ago, relations between these nations were characterized by extreme hostility and suspicion. Confrontations that followed in subsequent years led analysts to believe that a major war between them was unavoidable. In the 1990s, however, Russia and China were able to overcome their differences and gradually improved their relations, culminating in a strategic partnership in 1996. Now they cooperate on a wide range of issues, including political dialogue, energy infrastructure development, technology transfer, arms trade, and scientific, educational, and cultural exchanges. Current cooperation helps Russia and China to deal with many issues, such as U.S. hegemonism, expansion of NATO, development of TMD and NMD systems, and the growing threat from radical Islam. Behind the summit diplomacy and high-level interactions, there are many issues that undermine good relations and challenge the partnership in the future: the nature of the partnership remains dubious, and Russia and China will not form a formal alliance. Russia and China are determined to reach their near term goals, and therefore, the partnership will be sustained in the near future. Yet, because the long term goals of Russia and China are quite different, even the current relationship will eventually unravel.

**KEYWORDS:** Russian Federation, People's Republic of China, Strategic Partnership, Sino-Russian relations, Arms Trade, People's Liberation Army

### **JOINT CLOSE AIR SUPPORT IN THE LOW INTENSITY CONFLICT**

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During the Gulf War, millions of people around the globe, courtesy of CNN, witnessed the seemingly massive use of precision-guided weapons against Iraqi targets in the largest air campaign since World War II. Most of the missions were flown against Iraqi targets with no friendly forces on the ground. This type of air campaign is known as Deep Air Support, or "DAS." Equally as important, but receiving less spectacular news coverage, is Close Air support, or "CAS." When conducting CAS missions, the chance for "Friendly Fire" incidents, injuring or killing your own troops on the ground, increases dramatically as compared to DAS missions. This may seem to be an obvious deduction since there are no friendly troops on the ground during a DAS mission, but when small, specialized units, such as SEALs, Special Operations Forces (SOF), or reconnaissance forces find themselves in the deep battlespace, operating in a low intensity conflict (LIC) environment, these simple doctrinal distinctions can sometimes lead to confusion, or worse, friendly fire fatalities on the battlefield. It could be argued that there is a disconnect between joint doctrine and joint training which creates an environment on the LIC battlefield, as well as in training, that can lead to faulty execution of CAS missions, and potentially disastrous results. Though the U.S. has reached a technological level that provides a great advantage on the battlefield, the doctrine used to prosecute our military campaigns, in terms of close air support, has sometimes lagged behind the technological advances to such a degree that it has jeopardized the safety of the very same ground personnel being supported.

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**KEYWORDS:** Joint Close Air Support, Close Air Support, Low Intensity Conflict, Fratricide

## EUROPE, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

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In 1998, 120 members of the United Nations adopted a treaty establishing the International Criminal Court, designed to address issues such as war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. The United States, in cooperation with its European allies, was instrumental in bringing this treaty about. In the end, however, the U.S. felt compelled to withdraw its signature, an unusual step signifying a high level of dissatisfaction with the structure and competency of the Court. This thesis argues that, while the United States maintains good relations with Europe, its abandonment of the ICC has constituted a major setback to Euro-American relations, and entailed a loss of face among the international community as a whole. Even as the United States has stood aloof from the Court, fearing that its soldiers and officials could face politically motivated trials, Europeans have continued their vigorous efforts to make the ICC a success. The United States and Europe are now on opposing sides on a major issue of international criminal justice. This has already caused tensions over internationally sanctioned peace-keeping troops, and has the potential to further disrupt the Euro-American partnership, above all in the military sphere.

**KEYWORDS:** International Criminal Court, International Criminal Tribunals, International Crimes, International War Crimes, War Crimes

## EUROPEAN ENLARGEMENT AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

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After the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the notions of a “return to Europe” and a “common European house” emerged as powerful concepts, particularly in the Western Balkans. But the Western Balkans had to walk through Purgatory on its road to Europe. A bloody war dragged on for ten years involving all the peoples of the region. But today, the peoples and the governments of the Western Balkans are committed to leaving behind their past through the European integration process for Southeastern Europe. This accession procedure is long and complicated with ample opportunities for difficulties to arise. Considering the region’s unequal capabilities, the financial burden of reconstruction and stabilization, as well as the potentially counterproductive effects of the European Union initiatives, the problems of the Western Balkans could be better solved by including all countries of the region in the same process of European enlargement. This policy might be based on the economic strength of the European Union and consider the very small economic proportions of the Western Balkans. It should give priority to economic rather than political or civil-society incentives, and give preference to European solutions over bilateral support for reform efforts or intraregional cooperation.

**KEYWORDS:** Western Balkans, European Integration, Stability, Prosperity, Security

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## **CROATIAN CIVIL-MILITARY REFORM AND ITS IMPACT ON NATO MEMBERSHIP**

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Croatia emerged from war in the mid-1990s to embark on a path of accession to Euro-Atlantic institutions. The present thesis examines the connections between civil-military and security sector reform, the consolidation of democracy, and the enlargement of NATO as it concerns this most pivotal nation of central and south eastern Europe. The thesis treats the multi-national process of alliance enlargement, relating this theme to the specific set of tasks faced by Croatian policy makers and soldiers in the 1990s and in the present. Further, the study analyzes the civil-military evolution and character of the Croatian armed forces, as well as the broader theme of security sector reform in Croatia, especially since the advent of democratic government in 2000. The thesis concludes with an assessment of the contributions of international organizations and bi-lateral aid, as well as a concise evaluation of the tasks yet to be performed by Croatia in the wake of the Prague 2002 North Atlantic Council series of invitations and what lies ahead in the next round of Alliance Enlargement, perhaps in 2007.

**KEYWORDS:** Croatia, Croatian History, Croatian Military, Civil-Military Relations, Former Yugoslavia, Homeland War, Membership Action Plan, NATO Enlargement, NATO Membership, Partnership for Peace, Security Sector Reform

## **ITALIAN FOREIGN POLICY: TRENDS FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY**

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Since the end of the Second World War, foreign policy goals have rarely become the lead issue for any Italian administration, and the desire to maintain the “special relationship” between the United States and Italy has generally muted any dispute. The collapse of the Soviet Union and a growing concept of national interest in Italy have combined to change the basis of Italian-American cooperation. With increasing speed and fervor, Italian society and its political leadership continue to develop goals and ideas that are less dependant on foreign influence or reaction than has been the case in the past. The events of the 1990s made many Italians reflect on what their values and principles were. Italians feel increasingly able to voice their opinion, even when it differs with that of the United States. While as partners there is still an inequality of means, the developing independent agenda in Italy will reduce American influence to an equally competing perspective in the national policy debate. Although it is uncertain how far future foreign policy aims will diverge from American interests, the trend certainly shows that Italians will feel less restraint in voicing their disagreements when they arise.

**KEYWORDS:** Italy, United States, NATO, Foreign Policy, Security Policy, Politics, Cold War, Counterterrorism, Catholicism, Socialism, Communism, Fascism, Postmodern Security Goals, Public Opinion, Mediterranean, Balkans

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## **A COMMON EUROPEAN SECURITY AND DEFENSE POLICY IN THE EUROPEAN UNION: GREEK POLICY AND STRATEGY ON ESDP**

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Since 1998, the European Union (EU) has begun to develop a Common European Security and Defense Policy (ESDP), which provides a stronger role in the security and defense areas in order to become a more important actor in these fields. Since that time, the member states of the European Union have been pursuing capabilities to conduct conflict prevention and crisis management operations, with no intention of overcoming NATO's role and capabilities in the field of collective defense, but with the intention of strengthening the Union's role and influence in international politics.

This thesis demonstrates that a common European Security and Defense Policy is vital for the future of the European Union. The need for a common policy is more urgent than ever, because only in this manner can the European Union be strong and significant. This thesis identifies and analyzes the origins of this concept, shows how the current situation has increased that demand and explains the reasons for the establishment of ESDP. The thesis concludes with an evaluation of these ideas and policy recommendations for a member state, for Greece, and for the European Union itself.

**KEYWORDS:** European Union, European Security and Defense Policy, NATO, Greece

## **COMPARISON OF THE U.S. AND GERMAN APPROACHES TO DEMOCRATIC CIVIL- MILITARY RELATIONS**

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Since the fall of the Iron Curtain, the issue of civil-military relations has become critical to the development of the new Eastern European democracies. Both the United States and Germany have a long civil-military relations tradition. A comparison of United States' and Germany's approaches to civil-military relations provide clear examples for new democratic states to follow as they develop their civil-military relations, especially as they consider multi-national NATO units.

Following an overview of civil-military theory, this thesis highlights the civil-military historical and political developments within both countries. The thesis further explains the similarities and differences of their development, as well as their implications for the military profession. The thesis provides a comparison of both approaches to the military profession, and to the primary civil-military relations theory, in order to determine if the requirement of democratic civilian control over the military has been met. The thesis summarizes advantages and disadvantages of both American and German approaches.

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Military Profession, Military Professionalism, Democratic Civilian Control Over Military, Multinational Units, United States, Germany, New Democratic States, Eastern Europe, Innere Fuehrung, Citizen in Uniform

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## **THE REGIONAL RESPONSE TO THE CRISIS IN COLOMBIA**

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This thesis focuses on the regional response to the crisis in Colombia. The major conclusions of the thesis are that: 1) the crisis directly affects the security of Colombia's neighbors; 2) the use of military force will be the most important element in a strategy to restore security and the Colombian military will require external military assistance to do so, while Colombia's neighbors have traditionally rejected ideas of intervention, there are indications that they may be willing to participate in such an endeavor; and 3) while less politically risky courses of action are more likely to occur, a regional military force operating in a peacemaking role will be the most effective course of action towards restoring security in Colombia and the region. These conclusions are reached through an examination of the conflict's effect on Colombia and its neighbors, the capabilities of the Colombian security forces, the history of regional cooperative efforts, and recent political rhetoric and policy decisions region-wide.

**KEYWORDS:** Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Panama, Peru, Ecuador, Insurgency, Narco-trafficking, Paramilitaries, Military, Regional Cooperation, Uribe, Rio Treaty, U.N. Security Council, Organization of American States, Conflict, Intervention, Sovereignty, Peacekeeping

## **THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENTS AND THE U.S. COMMITMENT IN EUROPE, 1966-1975**

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This thesis explores international and domestic factors that constitute continuities in U.S. foreign and security policy regarding trans-Atlantic relations. Since the founding of the Atlantic Alliance, burden sharing has been one of the major sources of conflict between the United States and its European NATO allies. Despite the reluctance to spend more than minimal amounts on military capabilities in most European NATO countries, the issue did not become a major concern in the U.S. Congress between 1951 and 1966. It was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that proposals, including the Mansfield Resolutions and Amendments, were introduced in the Senate calling for a substantial reduction in the number of U.S. troops in Europe. The debates provoked by these proposals threw light on the various determinants of U.S. policy towards Europe. The contemporary relevance of the issue resides in the fact that most of the elements responsible for the emergence of the Mansfield Amendments are still influential in U.S. foreign and security policy. This circumstance might lead to comparable proposals and debates in the near future.

**KEYWORDS:** Trans-Atlantic Relations, Mansfield Amendment, U.S. Troop Reduction, Congressional Role in Foreign Policy

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## **REFORMING A NATION: IMPLICATIONS OF IMF CONDITIONALITY ON RUSSIA**

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Since the end of the Cold War and the transition from a centrally-planned to a market-oriented economic system, the Russian economy has undergone a staggering and incomplete economic transformation. International financial and technical assistance played a significant role in the evolution of the Russian economy. As the International Monetary Fund (IMF) took a central role in the Russian transition process, through the provision of technical and, more importantly, financial assistance, it was able to attach significant conditions to the use of its funds. These conditions ranged from the reform of markets, government revenues and expenditures, to the role of the public sector in the emerging market economy. An unanswered and increasingly important question is whether IMF conditionality has promoted or hindered economic reform, and more importantly, economic performance. In this thesis, the role of the IMF and their conditionality in the transformation of the Russian economy with specific focus on whether the IMF created the 1998 financial crisis is examined.

**KEYWORDS:** Russia, IMF, Russian Economic Crisis

## **SECURITY PERCEPTION: WITHIN AND BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH**

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The term “security” has always been vague in terms of its definition. After the end of the Cold War, however, this vagueness increased as new paradigms emerged. Those studying security need a better understanding of the term “security” to deal with complex issues within the broadly understood discipline of security studies.

This thesis describes the uncertain nature of security by analyzing: 1) various definitions of security and some of the terms directly related to it in different contexts, and 2) the empirical meaning of security by examining threats as indicators of “insecurity,” based on the different characters of threats, and levels of analysis from the field of international relations.

The thesis argues that regardless of the vague meaning of the term “security,” empirically its parameters are quite certain and definable by the specification of threats as indicators of insecurity. This clarification of the meaning of security studies, in turn, makes it easier for scholars and policy-makers to deal with this increasingly important sphere of human life.

**KEYWORDS:** Security, Threats, Definition, Content, Dimensions, Levels and Sectors of Security Studies, Asymmetry

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## **CIVILIAN CONTROL OF ARMED FORCES-CHALLENGES FOR THE EUROPEAN UNION**

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Since 1989, the study of democratic civil-military relations has undergone a revival of the formation of new theory. These concepts deal with civilian control of armed forces at a national level. Since after the end of the Cold War, the European employment of military forces within a multinational framework became a regularity, it is now pertinent to ask whether and how these concepts fit at the international level. The construction of Europe and the rise of new security challenges raises the issue of democratic civil-military relations in the European Union. The present thesis analyses classical and new theories of civil-military relations, and applies these to the current issue of security policy and the formation of strategy for a supra-national European Union.

**KEYWORDS:** Civil-Military Relations, Military Profession, Military Professionalism, Democratic Civilian Control Over Military, European Union

## **WHO WERE THE FIFTEEN SAUDIS?**

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On September 11, 2001, the al-Qa'ida terrorist network succeeded in an act of terror which the world will not soon forget. The 19 terrorists who hijacked the four airliners were all Muslims from Arab states; 15 of them were citizens of Saudi Arabia. This thesis addresses the question of who these hijackers were, and presents evidence to support the hypothesis that they were specifically selected by al-Qa'ida because of their Saudi citizenships and/or connections to Saudi Arabia. It will further be shown how the selection of these young men served certain specific political purposes for the al-Qa'ida terror network, purposes of which some of the hijackers may not even have been aware.

**KEYWORDS:** Terrorism, 9/11, Saudi Arabia, Militant Islam

## **POST-CONFLICT JUSTICE: ISSUES AND APPROACHES**

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In July 2002, the International Criminal Court (ICC) began operations as the primary international institution for the prosecution of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide or international crimes. During the 1990s, the United Nations Security Council authorized international war crimes tribunals for conflicts in the Balkans and in Rwanda. Despite the important developments that these institutions made in international criminal law, these courts have not contributed to the long-term capacity of post-conflict states to operate under the rule of law. In the late 1990s, the United Nations started to use new types of hybrid tribunals designed to prosecute international crimes in post-conflict states that combined the power and expertise of the international community with the indigenous law and legal community. This thesis used case studies to make a detailed evaluation of the institutions and the options



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facing the individual states and the international community when designing policies or authorizing a tribunal to try international crimes in a post-conflict environment.

**KEYWORDS:** International Law, International Criminal Court, Post-conflict Justice, International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, War Crimes, Genocide, Universal Jurisdiction, U.N. Security Council, Rwanda, Balkans, Sierra Leone, East Timor

### **THE ROLE OF THE PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE PROGRAM AND THE STATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAM IN THE PROCESS OF NATO ENLARGEMENT: THE CASE OF THE HUNGARIAN-OHIO COOPERATION**

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The end of the Cold War created new challenges and opportunities for European Security. The power vacuum that was left by the disappearance of the Warsaw Pact needed to be addressed quickly and pragmatically, to ensure the democratization of the former Eastern Block nations. Also, recent developments in World Security, such as increased Terrorism and Military Operations Other Than War, have forced NATO and other Transatlantic Security Institutions to adapt to a new way of thinking, operating and cooperating. This thesis identifies how NATO, the National Guard State Partnership Program and other Transatlantic Security Institutions operate in this new and challenging environment to aide these nascent democracies in the transition process. This thesis focuses on Hungary's successful experience of obtaining NATO membership via the Partnership for Peace Programme and State Partnership Program as a case-study.

**KEYWORDS:** Transatlantic Security, Partnership for Peace Programme, National Guard State Partnership Program, Hungarian National Security, NATO integration, Case of the Hungarian-Ohio Cooperation

### **BUREAUCRACIES, COMMUNITIES, AND NETWORKS: INTERAGENCY COOPERATION FOR HOMELAND SECURITY IN MONTEREY COUNTY**

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The federal government has undertaken a massive reorganization in order to create the Department of Homeland Security, and a parallel debate over how to organize homeland security functions has arisen at the State and Local government levels. In a time of severe budget constraints and rapidly changing threats, governments at all levels recognize the need for multiple government agencies, the private sector, and non-governmental organizations to work together in order to provide effective homeland security. The effort to improve cooperation, especially at the "first responder" level, has become a major priority in the homeland security arena. How then can local governments, improve interagency cooperation for homeland security?

A recent conference of government officials and homeland security experts concluded that the central coast of California has one of the best emergency preparedness systems in the country. This thesis examines the high level of interagency cooperation that has arisen among public safety agencies in Monterey County, California, in order to determine what factors have contributed to their success and how they might be applied in other situations. The author proposes that theories from multiple disciplines can

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provide insight into the likelihood and ability of organizations to cooperate. By drawing on bureaucratic politics, epistemic community, and network theories, the author develops an integrated model of interagency cooperation that describes the impact of organizational structure, institutional learning, and information technology on interagency cooperation.

**KEYWORDS:** Homeland Security, Interagency Cooperation, Local Government, Monterey County, Bureaucratic Politics, Epistemic Community, Network Theory

### **THE ROLE OF CHINA IN KOREAN UNIFICATION**

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China and Korea have had relations for more than two thousand years. During that period, China greatly influenced Korea. However, as a result of China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895 and the Japanese annexation of Korea from 1910 to 1945, the influence of China over Korea began to wane and was then lost. Meanwhile, while the People's Republic of China (PRC) was the Republic of Korea's (ROK) primary enemy state, and the United States became the ROK's only military alliance state, particularly due to their intervention in the Korean War in the Cold War era, the PRC, coupled with the United States, has become one of the most important partnership countries of the ROK in terms of security and economy on the Korean peninsula in the post-Cold War era. More importantly, the PRC is the only state which enjoys good relations with the two Koreas. Under these circumstances, the ROK's amicable relations with the PRC and the United States must be extremely important factors for Korean reconciliation and the reunification process. This thesis mainly examines Korea's historical relations with China and the United States, anticipates the role of China in Korean unification, and offers policy recommendations.

**KEYWORDS:** Korean Unification, Korean Peninsula, Two Koreas, Korea's Relations with PRC, DPRK and U.S., Cold War Era and Post-Cold War Era in East Asia, Bilateralism, Multilateralism

### **THE NATO-RUSSIA COUNCIL: ORIGINS AND PROSPECTS**

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On 28 May 2002, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Russian Federation adopted a Declaration in Rome on "NATO-Russian Relations: A New Quality." The Declaration replaced the Permanent Joint Council (PJC) with the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) as the new venue for consultation, cooperation, joint decision, and joint action. This thesis analyzes the origins and prospects of the NRC. It provides background on Moscow's relations with NATO from 1990 to 1997. It analyzes the PJC, which was established by the May 1997 Founding Act, notably with regard to the key events in the PJC's history and its merits and shortcomings. Although the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks against the United States led to a new era in NATO-Russia relations, each side has pursued this new relationship because of its own motives. The thesis analyzes the Rome Declaration and discusses the key differences between the NATO-Russia Council and its predecessor, the PJC. It also assesses the NRC's progress to date and its visible and potential problems. The thesis concludes that the prospects for the NATO-Russia Council depend in large part on the political will of the participating governments.

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, Russia, Relations, NATO-Russia Council, Origins, Prospects, Founding Act, Permanent Joint Council

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## **GERMANY'S ENERGY DEMAND AND SUPPLY UNTIL 2020: IMPLICATIONS ON GERMANY'S FOREIGN ENERGY POLICY**

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The purpose of this thesis is to provide an overview of Germany's energy supply options until 2020, the political implications, and the respective consequences for Germany's foreign energy policy. The oil and gas supply situation for Germany will become more complex in the upcoming decade. Since oil imports from the U.K. and Syria are expected to cease after 2005, 18% of the current oil supply will have to be substituted within this decade. Russia may not be available to provide the amount necessary. The gas situation is somewhat less urgent, as a supply shift will have to take place only after 2010, when the Norwegian and Dutch gas reserves cease to satisfy the export demand. The only regions that will be able to provide oil and gas on a global level to meet the growing world demand will be the Middle East, Russia, and other Caspian Sea neighbors. Germany's welfare is directly dependent on its economical success. As a highly industrialized country, Germany should take a tremendous interest not only in the future development of the international energy market, but also in attempting to influence the development immediately following that of its domestic needs.

**KEYWORDS:** Germany, Fossil Fuels, Energy Reserves, Energy Supply and Demand Forecasts, Energy Consumption

## **MISSILE DEFENSE IN EUROPE: REQUIREMENTS AND CHALLENGES**

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The NATO Allies decided at the November 2002 Prague Summit to conduct a feasibility study concerning the protection of national territories, populations, and forces from the threat of ballistic missile attacks. This thesis examines current missile defense programs and analyzes their potential to protect the Alliance as a whole, thus maintaining the indivisibility of Allied security. The thesis investigates the political, military, economic, and technological challenges for a NATO full-spectrum missile defense and the major questions that the Allies have yet to resolve. It also examines the prospects for cooperation between NATO and Russia in missile defense and potential perils for international stability, including the non-proliferation regime. The thesis concludes that NATO missile defenses will probably enhance the transatlantic link. However, the most crucial challenges include the command and control issue and the potential reactions of Russia and China to defenses capable of protecting NATO homelands against ballistic missile attacks.

**KEYWORDS:** NATO, Missile Defense Programs, Missile Defense, Russia, China, Ballistic Missiles, Prague Summit

# NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

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## **ASSERTING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY IN CYBERSPACE: THE CASE FOR INTERNET BORDER INSPECTION**

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National sovereignty is a fundamental principle of national security and the modern international system. The United States asserts its national sovereignty in many ways, including inspecting goods and people crossing the border. However, most nations, including the United States, have not implemented any form of border inspection and control in cyberspace. This thesis builds a case that national sovereignty inherently and logically gives a sovereign state, such as the United States, the right to establish appropriate Internet border inspection stations. Such stations would be used to inspect only legally vetted inbound traffic, and block contraband, in a fashion analogous to the current system for inspection of people and goods that cross U.S. borders in the physical world. Normal traffic crossing the border would have no content inspected and no record would be kept of its passing. This thesis answers key questions about feasibility, proposes a high level structure for implementation, and describes how such a system might be used to protect reasonable and legitimate interests of the United States, including both security and individual rights. One chapter will build the logical case for Internet border inspection and other chapters will discuss technical, legal, and political feasibility.

**DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS:** Cyberspace, Internet, Homeland Security

**KEYWORDS:** Internet, Cyberspace, Border Inspection, Homeland Security, Domestic Intelligence, Counter-terrorism

## **THE WAR THAT NEVER HAPPENED: THE SHARING OF EUPHRATES-TIGRIS RIVERS' WATER BETWEEN TURKEY, SYRIA AND IRAQ**

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Most recent studies and reports indicate that there is a significant risk of conflict over water sharing in the Middle East because of scarcity. Apart from exaggerating the scarcity of water resources and the likelihood of war, the major flaw of these assessments is that they just identify and do not solve the problem of water scarcity. The idea that water scarcity is the main source of conflict in the region is too narrow. Because water is so essential to life, even hostile coriparians have historically sought to compromise rather than go to war over this resource, even as disputes have raged on other issues. The historical record is predominantly cooperation rather than conflict when it comes to water sharing. This thesis provides a clear description of why water scarcity has not caused a violent conflict between Turkey, Syria, and Iraq in the Euphrates-Tigris River Basin.

**KEYWORDS:** Water, Middle East, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Euphrates River, Tigris River, Cooperation, Conflict